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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

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By FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, JUNE 5, 1919 Number 14

For my part, I decline to admit that there is anything soft or sentimental in the Golden Rule of doing as we would be done by. It is, on the contrary, the embodiment of sound practical common sense. I repel the idea that there is anything weak or unmanly in the Christian law of forgiveness, on the contrary, its wisdom is justified by the common experience of the every day life. I have yet to meet the man who in the retrospect of life finds satisfaction in an injury avenged or regret for an injury forgiven.

Sir Charles Addis, Director of Bank of England.

Opposition to the Peace Treaty is steadily growing. Little by little people are beginning to understand what the terms submitted to Germany by the Paris Conference really mean. The Allied governments of Europe sent millions of young men to death, in a battle for what they called democracy and enduring peace. These governments pledged themselves to use the victory dearly purchased by the blood of these young men, for the service not of national ambitions but of universal human interests. And all the while their statesmen were carrying round in their pockets the secret treaties out of which the final Peace Treaty has been fabricated! Where is there any instance of German treachery more terrible than this? If President Wilson had no part in the initiation of this betrayal of the Allied peoples, he at least failed to prevent its consummation. Curiosity grows as to how he will seek to vindicate his failure. J. H. H.

Industry paralyzed, idleness and demoralization everywhere throughout Europe, hundreds of thousands of people starving to death every month, vast areas of continental territory lying waste and empty as a desert, France bled white, Italy on the verge of revolution, Spain a hotbed of anarchism and Bolshevism, Belgium prostrate and helpless, England so near to ruin that she must move out of the British Isles between six and seven millions of people whom she cannot support—these are some items of a story just told not by a wild-eyed radical, or ugly pacifist, or even irresponsible newspaper correspondent, but by one of the most sober and conservative bankers in America, Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, in his recent address before the Economic Club, at the Hotel Astor, New York City. "The starvation in Europe," he said, "has been appalling, will continue to be appalling, and the people will face a year from now a food situation worse than they have faced this spring, and I say that on the highest possible authority." Again he declared, "I believe it is possible that there may be let loose in Europe forces that will be more terribly destructive than have been the forces of the great war." As evidence of this kind begins to accumulate, it becomes more and more evident, does it not, that the war was a great success? To carry such a fight through to the bitter end, is now clearly seen to be the way in which to settle human affairs! For it is to be remembered that these nations visited and thus described by Mr. Vanderlip are *the victors!*

J. H. H.

If Europe is a thing of horror, what shall we say about Asia? In India, we are told by a Canadian relief committee, of which Donald A. Cameron, manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, is announced as honorary treasurer, there prevail today conditions which are "unparalleled elsewhere in the history of the world." Thirty-two million persons have already died from starvation. One hundred and fifty millions more are on the verge of extinction. "Plague and famine are rampant. The poor have eaten all their food, and thousands upon thousands are reduced to such a state that they are nothing but living skeletons. The cities are peopled by emaciated humanity. Traffic has ceased, mails are undelivered, and business is at a standstill. One hundred and fifty million loyal British subjects go hungry morning, noon and night, while a vast multitude endeavor to maintain life by eating roots, leaves and kernels of old nuts. Immediate help is essential. The conditions are indescribable and ghastly." The relief committee attributes this horror to "plagues and the failure of the crops." Such causes, however, have been operative before, but they have never produced conditions comparable to these. What has really been at work here, as in Europe, is the war, with its exhaustion of wealth, its paralysis of industry, its wholesale destruction of property and life. That there are some persons who realize this truth, is shown by the fact that, although this appeal for India was signed by twenty-nine men representative of religious, philanthropic and commercial institutions, it was immediately suppressed by the governmental authorities of Canada. Better to leave millions of human beings to perish without succor, than to let the world know what this war has done, and is still doing, to humanity! J. H. H.

In the passing of Bishop Greer, of the diocese of New York, and of Dean Hodges, of the Cambridge Theological School, the Episcopal Church loses two of its most distinguished and broad-minded leaders. Both were of the type of man all too much needed in

the Episcopal Church today. Dr. Hodges was a prolific writer of books characterized always by wisdom, grace, and a rare modicum of wit. His spirit was of the very essence of simplicity and good-will. To the theological barriers that separate men, he was openly hostile; for denominational rivalry and intolerance, he had a fine scorn tempered only by his unfailing sense of the ridiculous. Bishop Greer was a churchman great in everything not usually associated with priestly office. For the trappings of professional rank, the pride and prejudice of ecclesiastical authority, the magnification of "the Church" as a separate divinely-ordained institution, he cared nothing. His interest was in religion, and his labor, to make the churches effective instruments of religion. In wartime his sympathies were wholly pacifistic; the work of hate he gladly abandoned to the small-souled men of the Manning type. One of his last acts was to open the pulpit of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine to clergymen of all churches, including the Catholic. He was a noble bishop. The church might be saved if there were more such priests. J. H. H.

The Methodists of New York announce that they are to start immediately on the erection in New York City of "sixteen community churches." The project is stated to involve an outlay of more than $4,000,000. Every section of Manhattan Island will have one or more centers. In some cases, new church organizations will be founded; in others, existing churches will be merged with the new community churches. The whole scheme is described as part of a great campaign to restore Methodism to something of its former vigor in New York. Every year for the past generation at least one Methodist Church has closed its doors and gone definitely out of business. A few more years, and it was feared that the great Wesleyan church would become extinct in Manhattan! Hence this determination to spend money, erect buildings, and reorganize this vast city on a community or neighborhood basis! Judgment on this campaign must perhaps be postponed until it has been carried out, and has had some chance to show results. To those interested in the community church movement, however, it is manifest that the idea is vitiated from the start by the attempt to combine the community plan of organization with out-and-out denominational propaganda. The two things will not, indeed cannot, go together. If new *Methodist* churches are to be built, not all the millions of dollars put into them will save them; the citizens of New York have long since passed judgment of condemnation on Methodism and every other Protestant sect. If new *churches* are to be built, however, for community need, then millions will not be necessary. The hearts of the people will sustain them. J. H. H.

The Unitarian meetings in Boston during Anniversary Week witnessed a great outpouring of people, and expressions of high enthusiasm. The great Laymen's League meeting, when Tremont Temple was packed to the doors, and the nearby King's Chapel crowded with an overflow meeting, will not soon be forgotten. It is a pity that such a gathering should have been marred at the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association, by an exhibition of intolerance which outdid even the unenviable record of the Unitarians for hatred of minority opinion. It is such happenings as this which raise serious question as to the worth of what is now going on inside the Unitarian body. There are unmistakable signs of a genuine revival in this church, as in other churches at the present time. But such revival can be of no avail unless it leaps the barriers of denominational ambition and parochial prejudice. There must be community as contrasted with sectarian feelings and a radical as contrasted with a conservative spirit. The Unitarians are summoning their best men to positions of responsibility, they are gearing up their machinery of organization to higher efficiency; they are quickening their people to new life. But they have yet to show any possession of that thorough-going social idealism which can alone survive in the modern world.

J. H. H.

The Boston Symphony Orchestra is an American institution. It is something of which not only Bostonians but all Americans are proud. In its best days, under the leadership of Gericke and Muck, it was unquestionably what Ignace Paderewski called it, "the greatest orchestra in the world." The break last year in its membership and morale, through the retirement of Muck and more than thirty of its players, was a tragedy mourned by all lovers of music; but hope for the future was quickened by the prompt reorganization of the orchestra and the engaging of Henri Rabaud of Paris as conductor. Now comes disappointment again in the retirement of Rabaud, after one successful season, and the employment of Monteux of the Metropolitan Opera House to take his place. This is an appalling piece of news. Monteux is a ballet and opera leader, of solid, routine, workmanlike qualities, but almost devoid of imagination and feeling, and without one spark of genius. What will befall the Boston orchestra is perfectly evident to those who know what has already befallen the New York opera. The musical world is undoubtedly in a state of sad confusion; one must be lenient with the directors of the Boston institution. But that no abler leader than Monteux could be found, is impossible of belief.

J. H. H.

Tariffs and Armaments

How many of our readers realize that numbers of the greatest Europeans have always regarded tariffs and armaments as the twin evils of the Old World? How many are conscious of the great change that has taken place in our being drawn into the commercial diplomacy of Europe? It seems to us that we are in grave danger of learining to our cost that the twin evils of the Old World may be evils which we, in the course of the next few years, will find in practice in our own land. And now that some of our leading banking and commercial institutions are starting an inquiry, as to what is to be the commercial diplomacy of the nations, it might be just as well to warn our readers of the probability of a great tariff war, into which we may be drawn, when the world has once more settled down to the work of production. Two years ago we frequently heard of the economic war which would be part of the policy of the Allies to be prosecuted after this war. The economic conference at Paris, which took place before the United States became a belligerent, was by British free traders regarded as a sinister threat; and those who for the past fifty years had maintained that free trade principles were indispensable to the well-being of the Empire, began an agitation against the decision of the findings of the Paris economic conference. The British opponents to this policy could not but remember that the fiscal doctrine they upheld had received the support of the vast majority of the British electorate at the three general elections which preceded the war. And today, in Britain, the free traders are as firmly opposed to any change of a permanent nature in British policy as they were five years ago.

We might ask ourselves what action would America take in a fiscal struggle for mercantile supremacy. We know that our protectionists are by no means sleeping, but what has become of our free traders? Where are the men who flocked to the standard of Woodrow Wilson in 1912? Did the war absorb all the energy of the hot gospellers of free trade? A negative policy will not do. If we are to keep what little independence there is left to us, the free traders should lose no time in getting to work. This is the question we have to consider: In which direction does our welfare lie: back, towards high protective tariffs, or forward, towards the policy of freedom of imports? A backward tendency now means a movement which might end in fastening upon us the twin evils of Europe, tariffs and armaments. Let us make no mistake about this. The question of what the fiscal policy of this country will be is certainly causing great uneasiness in certain financal and commercial circles, here and abroad. And this is a matter in which our whole industrial future is concerned, a matter which may involve us in innumerable misunderstandings, in serious rivalries, with our Allies. The gravity of the situation is referred to in *The Americas,* a magazine published by the National City Bank of New York. It says:

> The war has absolutely disorganized every phase of international understandings over rights and privileges of private business. Nobody, not even among men expert in such matters attached to the diplomatic service in different countries, now feels himself able to give a positive opinion on any important question involving commercial diplomacy. France, Italy, Spain, Russia and Greece have formally "denounced" their commercial treaties for the purpose of being free to adopt new national policies. England has not denounced her conventions, with us at least, but has just adopted certain measures of restriction of our goods that are not at all in accordance with pre-war understandings. These new measures are not war measures. They are frankly economic measures for the nearby future; and it is said that in reply to diplomatic inquiries made on behalf of our own government, the British Foreign Office justifies them on the basis of absolute economic necessity of self-preservation—without attempt to resort to the technicalities of old diplomacy.

This certainly indicates that we find ourselves in an extremely serious dilemma: we have to recognize that as a creditor nation we shall find the fiercest kind of competition in the commercial world for the future. Now the writer of the article we quote from tells us, what students of European tariffs have always known, that tariffs had much to do with the making of the war, and in considering the most-favored-nation clause in connection with commercial treaties, he points out:

> The American principle has always been that unconditional most-favored-nation treatment is not honestly workable in a system of honorable bargaining or tariff reciprocity. Its inconsistency led to sharp practice in European tariff-making and negotiation. Germany evaded it by doctoring her tariff classifications so nicely that when she traded a tariff concession to any one country, the goods of other countries claiming the "most-favored-nation" treatment got no benefit because they could not come in under the minute description of the German classification. For five years before the war English trade organizations were openly attacking German good faith in this particular. There is no doubt that the device turned out to be one of many incitements that finally resulted in war.

This timely reminder should force us at once to recognize the full gravity of the situation. What the writer points out as to the cause of so much commercial bitterness before the war, is what we would have America recognize as the momentous probability of future discord. Of course, the writer is considering the most-favored-nation clause in connection with commercial treaties, but that clause cannot be in any way dissociated from the policy of tariff making; indeed, the clause was seen before the war to be something of a delusion and a snare. So long as governments indulge their manufacturers in a protective fiscal system, there will be wars and rumors of wars. Besides, the people of the United States must clearly understand that their government has been drawn into the vortex of European affairs, and there will be no escaping those tariff trials and tribulations that have afflicted all the nations of the Old World. There will be no choosing the good of what-

ever alliances we make, to the exclusion of the evil. We are enmeshed in what Lord Rosebery called "the Continental System," and the tariff question will very soon appear to us in all its international aspects of greed, envy and hate. No longer shall we be able to consider it merely as a national question, one we may isolate and deal with as we choose. Therefore, we think it incumbent upon us to point out some ramifications of this question, and warn our readers while there is time.

It may be a surprise to learn that protective tariffs and militarism go hand in hand in Europe. The late Lord Salisbury had no doubts of the close relationship between these two. When he was Prime Minister of Great Britain he said:

> Everywhere our business is, if we can, to keep open the avenue of commerce, and everywhere we see rising round us a thick wall of Protection, cutting those avenues off. I ventured in answer to a deputation in the early part of this year to express the opinion that this increase of the system of Protection is not merely due to the prevalence of faulty theories. If that were so we might hope that the spread of sounder doctrines, the increase of communication, would induce peoples and governments to give up theories of which the hollowness has been proved. The real cause of the increase of protective duties is the establishment of those gigantic military forces which constitute a permanent drain on the resources of industry, a permanent danger to the interests of commerce, and which impose upon governments the necessity of finding money in some way that shall not too heavily goad the interests and susceptibilities of their people.

Numbers of British statesmen have expressed themselves in similar terms. And it seems to us that when the President drew up his Fourteen Points, he was very conscious of the close association of tariffs and armaments. Take the third point: "The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers, and the establishment of equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance," and read it in connection with the fourth point: "Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety." The sequence must have been set down deliberately, it could not be mere accident that the removal of economic barriers should precede the reduction of armaments. Besides, in connection with the reduction of armaments, he speaks of domestic safety, not national safety. We maintain that the questions of armaments and tariffs were closely united in the mind of the President. He must have known that in Europe a tariff not only meant custom houses and officials, but fortifications and soldiers.

The situation in the Old World was bad enough before the war. Who will deny that the war has made it worse? Today we have the economic war-to-the-knife policy frankly declared by Great Britain and France. As the writer in *The Americas* points out, Britain is acting on the basis of absolute economic necessity of self-preservation. And she means it, for a glance at the army and navy estimates for this year, which are stupendous in comparison with those of 1913-1914, should convince any one with a grain of intelligence how her government regards the future, this future which ushers in the grand alliance of the Paris conferences.

There is one road which America can take which might lead the nations to an understanding based on the removal of economic barriers and the reduction of armaments, and that lies straight in the direction of freedom of trade.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

CONTRIBUTED

As to Prophets of Evil

We have been muzzled and unmuzzled, we have passed from the restraint of war censorship to the freedom of loose speech. While all forces were turned toward keeping the war machine working, the voice of disloyalty was silenced successfully and a great unanimity of sentiment was achieved. Now with the return of free speech much suppressed energy is let loose. People are talking of their own little loyalties again and it seems difficult to maintain that unanimity which the gods favor for the accomplishment of the end in view. In spite of the great need of holding fast to the larger view there is a return of tribal loyalty whether through provincialism, patriotism or what not in the discussion of the peace program. The prophets of evil must needs warn against "the removal of landmarks that our fathers have set up."

Lovers of the immutable delight in the retrospective and scorn forward vision and constructive emotions. Lacking in faith yet strong in their own convictions these prophets of evil sound a warning for every wave of progress. They may not be formidable and in the last analysis represent only the sluggish blood of age.

As a wholesome tonic for these fearful alarmists, we may turn to the inspiration of our home-coming boys. They are coming back with different ideas; they are shaking the dry bones of the lovers of the immutable and in their method of reconstruction they take us into the realm of faith. They have dealt with spiritual forces, they have won by spiritual power, they say, and applied to the peace machine the view of the boys is like this:

Business is what we make it; a creed or a code is the way we take it; the value of the peace machine will be in the way we work it; it may work both ways but we'll see that it works right.

The Bible, the Constitution, the Creeds have been torn to shreds by rational criticism, but the benevolent forces in human nature have made them objects of veneration. A religious sect founded on dogma makes good because its devotees are well disposed. Even Bolsheviki may work right in the main if people are capable of being a law unto themselves. Faith in the good in human nature is the principle which carries the universe forward. Without this saving belief our instruments of war or peace are but impalpable breath or scraps of paper. The Covenant

of the League of Nations is a great instrument, a harp on which sublime notes may be played, a creed which will guide to clean living, a code to replace a black art.

Its usefulness to humanity can be pledged by the young blood of the twentieth century. Faith in their leadership is what we have to confound the prophets of evil. Faith is the leadership that is here, the young men and young women who have had their preparation, on whose shoulders the government shall rest, and statesmanship will be what they make it.

Alarmists may read danger into every clause of the elaborately studied formula for the healing of the nations, but it will be worked by the yearning, suffering population of the earth as a great instrument to break the rule of violence and bring succor to those in extremity.

It shall be so worked for it comes in answer to prophecy, is long overdue, has the supreme unction and laying on of hands of the guardians of human rights in the world's most trying hour. It will succeed because the prevailing forces are benevolent not evil, the oncoming spirit of the universe cannot be halted. As we trust our Bible, our Constitution, our code and our creed, let us trust our Covenant of the League of Nations, for there has been no higher call than the voice of the Saviour of the world, Peace on Earth, Good Will to Men.

HANNAH OTIS BRUN.

Hotel Vendome, San Jose.

Persecution Up To Date—

The two following letters were received the first of this month by the office of the Civil Liberties Bureau, New York City. They were written by two "conscientious objectors" confined in the U. S. Disciplinary Barracks at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. The facts narrated have been verified by abundant testimony from independent sources. This tale, added to others which have to do with solitary confinements, beatings-up, midnight baths under ice-cold showers, etc., gives a perfect picture of persecution as it is practiced not by Spanish inquisitors in the Middle Ages, but by U. S. army officials in this "Year of our Lord," 1919:

I.

U. S. D. B., Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

April 25, 1919.

Dear Evan:

. . . We have left the cantonment. Tuesday we political objectors, twenty-five strong, with the exception of Lunde and Abrams, were brought to the Post Guard House to join the thirty-five men who were recently taken from the "hole" (solitary confinement). Eight religious objectors who were here were taken to the cantonment. We do not know the reason for this move.

Last night after lights were out we were talking in low whispers. When the O. D. came in, sometime between ten and eleven o'clock, the guard ordered every man to his bunk. As soon as we were in our bunks a stream of water was played upon us all with a small hose. This was done without provocation or warning. Some of the men who had retired got out of their bunks as they became wet. They protested and became targets of the stream. This was not enough. The fire department, headed by the O. D., brought in a three-inch fire hose with which we were deluged.

We were drenched. The cell was flooded. The water around the cell was a good three inches deep as it was over the ankles of the boots worn by the guard and firemen. The force of the water lifted Bernstein from his top bunk, which was near Roderick's and mine, and tumbled him to the floor. He, Bernstein, became hysterical and yelled. The water was still played upon him and as he rose from the floor the water knocked him prostrate over the adjoining bunk occupied by Shotkin. His yells were drowned as he became choked with water. The stream was then played on all. It hit me in the back turning me nearly over. We were like rats caught in a hole and drowned. Bernstein had not become unconscious but we had to assist him to a corner bunk which was not absolutely drenched. Here he sat with others wrapped in semi-wet blankets which had been protected by bunks nearer the hose which got the worst of it. The rest sat or lay in drenched or partially soaked bunks.

During the beginning of the affair the O. D. was heard to remark, "Give them lots of it." His orders were carried out. A guard said that we had been asking for a bath and now we would get one. We did. Several times since our arrival here we have made inquiries regarding bathing facilities. Toilet facilities are so bad that it is necessary to keep urinal pails in the cells. I should have told you that 26 men occupy one cell and 24 another on the lower floor of the guard house. Our cell with the 26 in it was the only one subjected to the water, although garrison prisoners on the floor above were singing and talking in ordinary tones.

This morning boys in the next cell proffered dry blankets and coats, but the guard said he had orders to permit nothing in to us. Our blankets and clothes are hanging around the cell, but they will not be dry by night. The straw mattresses will not dry out for days. In the meantime we are doing out best in fatigue clothes, which most of us had wrapped in raincoats and were thus partially protected. We have no underwear or socks and it is difficult to keep warm.

These are the simple facts. I refrain from comment or speculation as to what will occur again tonight as it will be necessary for us to share the dry and partially wet bunks and blankets together and this doubling up may precipitate more trouble.

Regards from all. —— ——.

II.

Fort Leavenworth, Kan.

April 24, 1919.

Dear Folks:

Last night which we shall term "Wet Wednesday." We (26 of us), occupying one of the cage-like cells here, were subjected to the famous old therapeutic treatment. This, as punishment for a slight infraction of the prison rules, namely, whispering after "lights out." During the entire stay in this guard house, the men have been accustomed to sit on their bunks and carry on conversation in a very low tone of voice or whispers. Apparently no one took exception to this up to now.

Yesterday some of the men were seated on their bunks after dark conversing as usual, when suddenly about 10 p. m. an officer appeared. The sentries turned on the lights; the officer walked around the outside of our cage, looked at us but said not a word to us. He retired and in a few moments reappeared with a few sentries, who dragged along a garden hose. They turned on the water, shouting, "To your bunks." Those of us who had not yet retired went to our bunks immediately, most of us lay down on our bunks without even removing our clothing. The soldiers, however, turned the hose on all the men, even those who had been in bed an hour or more and were already asleep. The officer ordered his soldiers to "Let them have it; give them plenty." This continued for a while although every one of us was in his bunk. Some of the men, especially those who awoke from their slumber, resented this treatment, voicing their protests. The water was turned off and the soldiers and officer left. In a short while he returned with soldiers from the post fire department. I recognized them as such because they wore long rubber boots and the fire department badge. They dragged after them a three-inch fire hose. Not a sound was heard from any of our men. We were all in our bunks under cover of the blankets. Some went to bed fully clothed, others in their underwear or pajamas. The officer looked in at us, and although every one of us was perfectly quiet, he ordered the water turned on. The firemen dexterously but truculently turned the stream onto every bunk in this cage. After a few minutes of this, the water in the corridor reached such a height that the officer (a captain) retreated to the stairway. From this elevated position he directed this formidable procedure.

Bernstein, who occupies the upper berth of a "double-decker" bed, was thrown out of his bunk by the force of the water. He fell on the concrete floor, and when he at-

tempted to stand up, the firemen turned the hose on him again, directing the stream to his neck and back. Again the force of the water picked him up and hurled him on to an adjoining bunk. He became hysterical and gave vent to heartrending screams. It seemed to me that the firemen felt commiseration for us, for just a moment they directed the stream to the steel wall. But on order from the Captain to "give them plenty" awoke them to their duty. They continued to administer this panacea, while Bernstein continued his pathos-evoking shrieks of hysteria. You can imagine the force behind a three-inch fire hose, with the water turned on full. The hose was directed along the floor soaking almost all our belongings. They then turned it onto the ceiling from where it poured down on us like a deluge. For variation it was turned on the bunks, saturating mattress, blankets, bedding and underwear. Miraculously, we escaped getting the direct steam in our faces, for the power of it might easily kill a person, break one's eardrums or injure him otherwise. We were now soaking wet, our teeth chattering and our bodies quivering from the cold, so much that the beds vibrated with us. Finally, apparently satisfied, the officer ordered the water turned off. During the entire seance not a word was uttered by either the firemen or the besieged, except the Captain's orders from the stairway, from where he directed the work while we were locked helpless in our cage, unable to seek shelter. The firemen discontinued the hose and left us to pass the night as we saw fit. By this time Bernstein's shrieks had diminished to moans, but fortunately he was not hurt otherwise. Needless to say we passed an almost sleepless night in our soaking wet bunks. No attempt was made to give us dry clothing; the soldiers simply left us to shift for ourselves. To fight off the chill, two, and in some bunks three men, crowded on one mattress in an attempt to keep a bit warmer with the aid of what little heat was left in our bodies.

Strange to say, up till now no one has contracted pneumonia. This morning we hung up all our clothing and bedding to dry. We pace up and down our cage, wearing such dry (?) clothing as we have, a raincoat, a semi-wet blanket or the like. At this writing, about 3 p. m., no one has come here to offer us relief, although our bedding, mattresses and blankets are still wet and we face the prospects of passing another night in damp beds.

Through it all, the iridescence of this waterfall, which likened a hurricane, appealed to my æsthetic senses, and I could not help but admire this miniature Niagara.

Did you ever see a fire sale? That's what this place looks like today, with a motley array of drenched stuff, ranging from shoes to mattresses, hanging all around the bars of the cell.

For the opinions and conduct of the "conscientious objectors" who were the victims of this outrage, we do not at this time ask any slightest sympathy. We are ready to agree for the moment that these men have failed in their duty to the nation, have defied the laws, and have been justly sentenced to imprisonment. We simply submit that, in this age of the world's history, there is no excuse for any kind of such treatment of prisoners as is described in these letters. The vilest criminal, confined for the most hideous of crimes, should not be locked up and half drowned like a rat in a trap. Even with the worst offenders, there are certain rudimentary principles of decency to be recognized, certain basic elements of pity to be invoked. This wretched business at Fort Leavenworth is persecution pure and simple, and it is persecution practiced by responsible officials of the United States government. Our duty, as citizens of this government, is plain—first, to send our indignant protests to the War Department in Washington, demanding investigation and punishment of the officers guilty of this outrage; secondly, to give unremitting service to the movement for amnesty, which can alone solve the vexatious problems involved in this whole matter of "conscientious objectors."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

THE PULPIT

The Community Church

By John Haynes Holmes

IV.

So much for the message of the Community Church. What now shall we say about its work?

Central to all its activities will be the Sunday morning services of worship. These will be very different from what we see about us at the present moment, for they will in every case be community services, by which I mean that they will be services of communion, and not of disunion. Nowadays, the community divides itself up on a Sunday morning into all sorts of fragments. The majority of the people, long since disgusted with these private clubs known as churches, do not go anywhere for worship. The rest disperse in a hundred different directions each one seeking a little company of persons, with whose opinions he agrees, or into whose secrets he has been initiated. Families are often divided in this process, brothers going to one church, and sisters to another. Even husbands and wives occasionally separate, a temporary divorce proceeding being enacted when they approach the altars of God. A community is cut up into a larger number of pieces, and is therefore less of a community in the true sense of the word, on a Sunday morning, than at any other moment of the week. We are at that time most conscious of the differences that divide us, and least conscious of the interests, purposes and ideals that inevitably unite us. If it is possible to conceive of a method of tearing people apart, and defeating the ideal of a common life dedicated by a common spirit to common ends, which is more disastrously successful than that of denominationalism, the world has not discovered it. For Christianity would undoubtedly adopt it upon the instant, if it had!

Now the Community Church will unite people on a Sunday morning, instead of dividing them. The single church in the small community, or the many churches in the many neighborhoods of the large community, will gather together all of the people within their districts and lead them in a great act of spiritual communion one with another. I know of one Community Church, already established in a little town, which comprises within its membership ninety per cent of the inhabitants of that town. These people represent no less than thirteen different denominations; and under ordinary circumstances would divide themselves up on a Sunday morning into thirteen different congregations. But in this town, these people all come together in the one place, for a common act of dedication to the best and the highest that they know. Ninety per cent of the population of this community is assembled, or represented, in the Community Church on every Sunday morning. They do regularly together, as a matter of course, what the citizens of other communities do only by a great effort at a union service on Thanksgiving, or a patriotic assembly on the Fourth of July. Sunday, in other words, is the community day. The Sunday morning service is the weekly gathering in consecration of the community life. The Community Church, in its work, will hallow this day and this service; and as the Community Church movement develops throughout the country, it will become the great occasion for the expression of the democratic idealism of America.

Secondly, in its work the Community Church will organize a forum, for the development of those ideas and processes which cannot find proper expression at the Sunday morning service. No Community Church will be complete without a forum; for the church, we must remember, is the community, and the community must have opportunity for community discussion of public problems, and this discussion can properly be held only in the best atmosphere of moral and spiritual idealism. Few of us realize, I think, to what an extent in recent years the forum movement has fostered the community idea, and the forum meeting suggested the possibility and desirability of the Community Church. These forums, when successful, are indeed the Community Church in embryonic form. They are the people of a neighborhood gathered together without regard to any other interest than that of their common concern with a problem of public thought and public welfare. We have now only to extend this forum gathering—to integrate its helter-skelter membership into a definite organization, to lift its activity above the plane of

mere discussion to that of service and devotion, to fuse its energies, concentrate its many-mindedness, purify its spirit—in order to transform it into a genuine Community Church such as we are discussing at this moment. The forum movement must be very definitely regarded as an anticipation of, and preparation for, the Community Church movement. And now that the two movements are together in the field, they will tend to become, I believe, even more and more closely allied, until the one is always and everywhere associated with the other. Every forum will inevitably tend to develop into a Community Church; and every Community Church will necessarily organize itself, among other things, into a forum. The church, may we not say, will be the forum worshiping; and the forum will be the church debating!

Lastly, and most important in this matter of work, is the problem of community service. Here it is difficult to enter into details, but there are two things which must be said with great distinctness.

In the first place, it goes without saying that the Community Church will be intensely practical. It will find the fruitage of its labors, and the justification of its existence, in applied religion. Just as its message will be predominantly social, so also will be its work. Inevitably it will organize itself into a community center, for the initiation and direction of every form of practical service for the common welfare. Indeed, the community center, as we know it today, may not unfairly be described as the Community Church at work. It is significant that where the Community Church is already established we discover that there is no need for the community center movement to go; for the Community Church builds a community center for its work as inevitably as it builds a sanctuary for its worship. We have a community center movement in this country today, only because we have in most localities churches which are too busy in rivalry with one another, or too blinded in service of their denominational interests, to give any attention to the social welfare of the communities in which they stand. As the forum is destined to coalesce with the Community Church, so also is the community center; for the Community Church must practice the message which it preaches.

Secondly, it is to be noted that the work which the Community Church will undertake, will be dictated by the community to the church, and not by the church to the community. Ordinarily, as in the case of the Institutional Church, for example, the church knows exactly what the community wants, or ought to have. It attempts to dictate in matters of practical service, just as it has attempted to dictate in matters of worship and belief. But not so the Community Church! It must never be forgotten that this church belongs to the community, and not to some outside organization, or movement; that is an outgrowth of the community life, and therefore a natural expression of that life; that it is just as much an instrument in the hands of the people as the government, or the schools. This being the case, the Community Church will register as accurately, and immediately, the sentiments of the community, as a barometer will register the density of the atmosphere. The church will rest in the hands of the people as a pliable tool, to be used for whatever the people want. In its practical work, therefore, the Community Church will not so much serve the people as express the people. The Church will not do something *for* the people, but the people will do something *with* the church. The community and not the church will be at the center of things, and what is done will be the will of the community. For example:

In a certain town, where the only church is a community church, the one great social problem of the hour is a new high school. To secure this building has now become the business not only of the town, but of the church. The people want it, and they are using their church as the medium for getting it. This seems to us, undoubtedly, a curious form of activity for a church. But what work is more truly religious than that of providing the right kind of education for our boys and girls?

Again, in the city of Lawrence, Massachusetts, during the last few weeks, there have been some twenty thousand or more men and women out on strike against the great textile mills of the community. These strikers, be it noted, are citizens of the community. Some of them are voters; many of them have purchased liberty bonds, or war savings stamps; most of them have sent sons into the army. They comprise in themselves more than one fourth of the total population of the town. They *are* the town, in so far as they are twenty-five per cent of the town. But nothing in the town is theirs. They are as much outside the community as though they still lived across the seas. The mills in which they labor belong to stockholders. The houses in which they dwell belong to landlords. The streets in which they walk belong to somebody who has a police force at his disposal to club them, arrest them, and imprison them. The parks in which they assemble, again belong to somebody who seems to have the power to order them away, and assault them if they do not go. Even the churches are private, for these belong to people who hire ministers to stand up in their pulpits on Sunday mornings, and denounce citizens who strike peaceably for enough wages to hold body and soul together. Now if there were community churches in Lawrence, there would be one place at least in that barbaric town where these twenty thousand strikers could speak their word and present their cause. For the community churches would belong to them as citizens of the community. They would be members of these churches, and as such could use them for their purposes. It is true, to be sure, that these churches might be stolen from them, and used against them, as the streets and the parks and the courts have been stolen and used; but this could not be true in the case of all of these churches. Some of the community churches would be in the districts where the strikers live, and would belong to them as citizens. These churches would be their own, and would be used for their deliverance in this hour of distress.

Again, we have been seeing here in New York, in recent years, the organization of neighborhood associations, and now today, of so-called community councils. These are attempts not to dictate to the people or even to serve them, but to awaken the people to a consciousness of their own needs, and put in their hands public instruments through which these needs may be satisfied. A true neighborhood association, or community council, is a simple organization of the people in a certain limited locality, for the discovery and expression of neighborhood interests, and the service of these interests by the people themselves in their own way and to their own ends. Now all these organizations would be unnecessary if our churches were community and not denominational institutions. What these neighborhood associations are doing, our community churches will be doing when once they have found their place, and won the confidence of the people. Their work is precisely the work of community religion. To each community the church will say, as the neighborhood association is now saying, Here am I, waiting to be used. Tell me what to say, and I will say it. Tell me what to do, and I will do it. Your life is my life—I have no hopes apart from you. To serve you as you would have me serve, not to save my life, but to lose it for your sake—this is my holy purpose!

Such is the work of the Community Church! In the work, as in the message, do you not see the unique and wonderful thing that the Community Church is? It is the community functioning spiritually. It is democracy at work in religion. It is the people entering into their last and most precious inheritance. For the history of our time is the history of the conquest of social institutions by the common people. One hundred and fifty years ago, in America and in France, the people decided to take possession of their governments; and from that day to this, the history of politics has been the history of the progressive democratization of the state. Fifty years ago, the people entered upon the prodigious task of taking possession of industry; and today, in Russian revolutions, and British Labor Parties, and Socialist agitations everywhere, we see the progressive triumph of the democratization of the economic system. And now comes the turn of the church! In religion, as in politics and industry, the people will have their way. And the Community Church is the temple which they will build! To describe it, in precise terms of definition, is difficult, as we have seen. To feel it, in the raptures of poetry and song, is easy, especially when our hearts are quickened by the genius of one who has himself seen the vision and dreamed the dream. Do you remember how Charles Rann Kennedy described the Community Church in *"The Servant in the House"?*

"I am afraid you may not consider it an altogether substantial concern. It has to be seen in a certain way, under certain conditions. Some people never *see* it at all. You must understand, this is no dead pile of stones and unmeaning timber. *It is a living thing.* . . . When you enter it you hear a sound—a sound as of some mighty poem chanted. Listen long enough, and you will learn that it is made up

of the beating of human hearts, of the nameless music of men's souls—that is, if you have ears. If you have eyes, you will presently see the church itself—a looming mystery of many shapes and shadows, leaping sheer from floor to dome. . . . The pillars of it go up like the brawny trunks of heroes: the sweet human flesh of men and women is moulded about its bulwarks, strong, impregnable: the faces of little children laugh out from every corner-stone: the terrible spans and arches of it are the joined hands of comrades; and up in the heights and spaces there are inscribed the numberless musings of all the dreamers of the world. It is yet building—building and built upon. Sometimes the work goes forward in deep darkness: sometimes in blinding light: now beneath the burden of unutterable anguish: now to the tune of a great laughter and heroic shoutings like the cry of thunder. Sometimes, in the silence of the night-time, one may hear the tiny hammerings of the comrades at work up in the dome—the comrades that have climbed ahead."

(*The End.*)

News from Europe

The Indian Rebellion.

The Viceroy of India does not hesitate to describe the trouble in India as open rebellion. The war has disturbed the British Empire in many strange ways. Who in official circles would have dreamed that the break up of the Turkish Empire should so affect the seventy millions of Indian Mohammedans, that they, in turn, should seriously threaten the government of India? The state of affairs seems to be extremely serious. The *Manchester Guardian* says:

The government of India is clearly right in pointing out that in India such a policy of resistance cannot be kept free from violence, and the fact must be faced that Lord Chelmsford, in making use of the whole power of the executive for the restoration of order, is supported by the entire European community, and, however they may regret it in principle, by large bodies of modern Indian opinion. But the problem of India is not to be solved by soldiers and military aeroplanes. It is, and will remain, an affair of economic, political and administrative enterprise and skill, and of statesmanlike vision. And to this problem the government and parliament of Great Britain must address themselves, under the pressure of the utmost urgency.

Belgium and the Ex-Kaiser.

A member of the Belgian delegation has informed a representative of the Associated Press of America that Belgium has not been officially requested by the Council of Four to bring the Kaiser to trial, and that the Belgian government would feel obliged to decline to take such an attitude even if it were requested to do so. Any such action, the Belgian delegation holds, should be taken by a commission representing all the associated powers.

The official Belgian point of view is that the Kaiser cannot be arraigned for declaring war, violating Belgian neutrality, or any act preceding or coincident with the declaration of war. It is pointed out that there is no tribunal competent to hear such charges against the Kaiser, and no provision in international law covering such cases. Belgium holds that persons guilty of acts punishable by the criminal codes of any of the belligerents should be tried in the ordinary way, as the fact that crimes such as theft, rape and murder were committed during a state of war does not relieve the authors of responsibility for them.

If such a commission as is suggested should desire to arraign Von Manteuffel for the sack of Louvain, Von Schroeder for the murder of Captain Fryatt, or Von Saubersweig for the execution of Nurse Cavell, all of the necessary documents will be forthcoming, but it is emphasized that Belgium does not seek revenge, but only justice. Finally, it is declared that the only case in which the personal responsibility of the ex-Emperor for the criminal acts committed against Belgium can be established beyond doubt is that of the atrocities attending the deportations of civilians who were carried off for forced labor in Germany, and in this case the ex-Kaiser's responsibility is unquestioned.

Another War.

A *Times* telegram from Tangier states:

The losses suffered by the Spanish forces in the attack on the hills immediately south of Tetuan on April 8 are now definitely reported as 12 officers and 300 men. This disaster has encouraged the mountain tribesmen, and several tribes who were showing anxiety to be free from Raisuli's harsh rule have now definitely thrown in their lot with him.

The British Socialist Party and Allied Policy.

At the annual conference of the British Socialist party, held at Sheffield, Councillor Alfred Barton, the president, declared:

That the conduct of the Allies since the armistice had confirmed the very worst that was said of them by their revolutionary critics. To the sound of trumpets the allied nations solemnly pledged themselves to President Wilson's fourteen points, and they had belied every statement they then made. They had occupied territory utterly and cynically regardless of the wishes of its inhabitants, destroyed Austria and put in its place a set of imperialistic nationalities whose hands were locked in each other's throats. They had created a new Poland and handed it over to the old predatory artistocracy to be a victim of its arrogance and lust. The Allies who denounced German atrocities were deliberately starving hundreds and thousands of women and little children by tortures more cruel than any suffered by the victims of the Lusitania. The allied forces who fought for liberty had suppressed the workers' and soldiers' councils and pulled down the red flag in Germany, and had even abolished the eight-hour day, while in Russia they had provided money and troops to help Koltchak and Denikin, supporters of Czardom, to harass, ravage, kill and enslave the Russian people, who only asked for freedom to live in peace.

An Incentive to Church Going.

Permission to smoke in church, which has recently been suggested as an incentive to church-going, would not be such an innovation after all. Quite a number of precedents could be quoted for the practice, writes "K" to the *Manchester Guardian*. In 1615, when James I. visited Cambridge University, the vice-chancellor issued a notice to the students to the effect that "noe graduate, scholler, or student of this universitie presume to take tobacco in Saint Marie's churche uppon payne of finall expillinge the universitie." This notice was needed in view of James's notorious dislike of tobacco. And Sir Walter Scott, in his "Heart of Midlothian," refers to an old Scotsman who smoked during the whole of the dominie's discourse—with borrowed tobacco! But to come to more recent times, we find that in 1861 an Essex church had installed in its gallery nooks where the congregation placed their pipes after use. Triangular wooden spittoons were also provided.

Stormy Meeting of Belgian Socialists.

A delegate protested against the idea of maintaining a Belgian force on the Rhine for 15 years. "If the Allies," he said, "think that the left bank must be occupied to obtain payment of the indemnities, let them mount guard themselves, and not place the responsibility on the shoulders of a little anti-militarist country like Belgium." (Loud cheers.)

On a delegate complaining of the "compulsory salute of the colors," M. Destrée retorted: "I remain true to the red flag, the symbol of our redemption, but I also salute the flag which has been the symbol of the liberty of my country. It was under this flag that the country was delivered from the Boches."

A Delegate: "Don't say 'Boches,' say 'Germans.'"

At this point there was general uproar for ten minutes. Cries of "Vive la Belgique" were raised, while other sections sang the "Internationale."

M. Destrée, resuming amid the cheers of the majority, said: "It was for the Belgian flag that those soldiers fell whose children we are seeking here to protect."

Finally the congress voted a resolution in favor of a general amnesty, and urging the government "to take immediate steps to repatriate wounded soldiers and secure for the combatants the moral and material satisfaction which they demand." The congress then adjorned.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE PEACE TREATY.

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian:

Sir: We desire, on behalf of this Union, which since its foundation in November, 1914, has pressed for such a political settlement of the war as would lay the foundations of an enduring peace, to register an immediate protest against the proposed Treaty of Peace with Germany. In our opinion it violates the terms and principles on the faith of which the German nation laid down its arms. As such it constitutes an indefensible breach of that international morality whose vindication it was the declared aim of the Allied and associated governments to ensure.

On October 20, 1918, the new German government under Prince Max of Baden, having carried out far-reaching constitutional reforms, notified President Wilson of its willingness to make peace on the basis of the terms specified in the President's speech to Congress in the preceding January (the "Fourteen Points" declaration), and of the principles outlined therein and in subsequent addresses. On November 5 the Allied governments notified the government of the United States that they accepted those terms and principles with two reservations. They drew up the conditions of the armistice which were accepted by Germany. These were of such a nature as to leave the German people with no defence other than reliance upon the plighted word of the Allied and associated governments. Thus on both sides it was agreed that the Fourteen Points were the fundamental basis of the peace.

It had long been contended by the Allied and associated governments that their quarrel was not with the people but with the rulers of Germany. These rulers have now been overthrown by the German revolution. The Emperor has abdicated and the reigning dynasties have fallen. The Allied and associated governments are now dealing with the German people. The peace terms presented to Germany are therefore presented to the new German republic, beset with internal and external difficulties of the gravest kind. Refusal to sign would be followed by a further prolongation of the blockade, a process of starvation—against which our soldiers have protested and which has filled the neutral world with horror.

The territorial arrangements arrived at without ascertaining the wishes of the peoples affected, particularly as regards the eastern portions of the German State, the Saar Valley, and Alsace-Lorraine, are marked by the same lack of vision and disregard for human rights which the German government displayed in 1871 and at Brest-Litovsk. The severance of East Prussia from the rest of Germany is a recurrence to the traditions of a disastrous past which it was hoped had been definitely repudiated. A Polish State thus constituted, and including large districts of a purely German population, cannot but prove a center of bitter racial conflict in Europe. The conditions under which the German population of the Saar Valley is to be detached from Germany against its will, the military occupation for a period of fifteen years of German territory on the left bank of the Rhine, an occupation which may be indefinitely prolonged in the event of Germany being unable to fulfill the whole of the obligations imposed upon her; the seizure of all the German colonies—these measures constitute not a peace of justice but a peace of violence.

But these particular examples merely typify the general purpose underlying every section of the treaty. That purpose is obvious. It is to reduce the new democratic Germany to the position of a vassal State, to render her commercial recovery impossible, to drive her out of international life, to crush the spirit of her people. Their exclusion from the League of Nations, their disarmament alone among the Powers of Europe, the imposition upon them of enormous and indefinite financial burdens, combined with numberless handicaps to their commercial and industrial rehabilitation, display this purpose in the clearest light. They are robbed of the greater part of their ocean and river craft and of many of their commercial cables. They may not discriminate against Allied trade, but the Allies can discriminate against theirs. They are forced to dispose of enormous stocks of coal annually to the Allies after being dispossessed of a large proportion of their own coal fields; to consent to an embargo on their dyestuffs and chemical products, and to build one million tons of shipping for the Allies in five years. Their property in Africa and Asia is confiscated and their enterprise barred from those continents. The prospect for the German people under the treaty is that of a people of serfs working for their conquerors in arms.

Not thus can a better world arise from the ashes of the past. Not thus can atonement be made to the peoples for the long agony of the war. A victory which was to have made the world safe for democracy is consummated in a peace which is a betrayal of democracy. It may be that the people of Germany, broken by the protraction of a scientific method of enforced starvation under the blockade, have no option but to sign a treaty whose rejection would condemn them to see their children perish before their eyes.

This treaty shows that the perpetuation of national hatreds and the pursuit of imperialist annexations and short-sighted vengeance are still the aims of an officialdom which no experience can enlighten. But we are convinced that it will rouse every true democrat to labor ceaselessly for its revision. For our part we do not recognize it as having any moral validity, and regard as our chief task the substitution for it of a peace which will correspond with President Wilson's Fourteen Points and with the aspirations and ideals of the common people everywhere.

Yours, etc.,

CHARLES RODEN BUXTON.
J. A. HOBSON.
F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.
E. D. MOREL.
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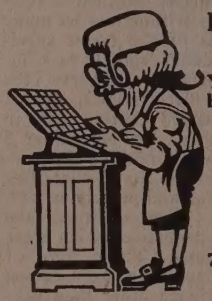

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